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A variety of books, magazine articles, and monographs dealing with public school integration are reviewed. The titles and authors are: <u>The Negro and the Schools</u> by Harry S. Ashmore; <u>Desegregation: Resistance and Readiness</u> by Melvin M. Tumin; <u>Prejudice and Your Child</u> by Kenneth B. Clark; <u>Psychiatric Aspects of School Desegregation</u>, a monograph, by the Committee on Social Issues of the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry; <u>They Learn What They Live: Prejudice in Young Children</u> by H. M. Trager and M. R. Yarrow; "The South and the Southerner" by Ralph E. McGill in the December 1963 issue of the <u>National Education Journal</u>; <u>Little Rock, U.S.A.</u> by Wilson Record; <u>It Has Happened Here</u> by V. T. Blossom; <u>Miracle of Social Adjustment: Desegregation in the Washington, D.C., Schools</u> by Carl F. Hansen; <u>Christians in Social Crisis</u> by E. Q. Campbell and T. F. Pettigrew; <u>Plan for Integration and Progress Toward Integration, September 1-November 30, 1963</u> and <u>Plans for the Immediate Future</u> by the New York City Board of Education; <u>Education in Depressed Areas</u> edited by Harry A. Passow; <u>The St. Louis Story: A Study of Desegregation</u> by Bonita H. Valien; <u>Action Patterns in School Desegregation</u> by Herbert Way and John Cory; "How Not to Integrate the Schools" by Inge L. Gibel; "Segregation Litigation and the Schools -- Part I: The New Rochelle Experience" by John Kaplan; <u>Legal Trends in De Facto Segregation: The Meaning for Ohio's Public Schools</u> by the Ohio Civil Rights Commission; <u>Desegregation and the Law: The Meaning and Effect of the School Desegregation Cases</u> by Albert P. Blaustein and Clarence (sic) C. Ferguson; and <u>Fifty-eight Lonely Men: Southern Judges and School Desegregation</u> by J. W. Peltason.						
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WHAT TO READ ON PUBLIC SCHOOL INTEGRATION

Benjamin F. Smith

The author, Director of Libraries, North Carolina College at Durham, is bibliographer of the *Negro Educational Review*.

Public school integration in the southern and border states is proceeding at a snail's pace. Nine years after the Supreme Court Decision outlawing racial segregation in public education, only 9.2 percent of the 3,403,925 Negro public school students in the region are attending racially mixed schools. The states of the Old Confederacy have permitted only 1 percent of their Negro public school students to enroll in racially mixed public schools.

The picture began to change slightly with the opening of the 1963-64 school term. The rate at which Negro students were permitted to enroll in previously all-white public schools seems to be on the increase. The details of this change are vividly outlined in the *Southern School News*. In view of the many factors operating at the local community level which enhance the desegregation process in some instances and retard or thwart desegregation in other situations,

careful attention should be given to the historical background of each community or region. Many writers have focused upon this problem.

Just prior to the Supreme Court Decision of May 17, 1954, Harry S. Ashmore summarized the research findings of forty-five scholars in a small volume entitled *The Negro and the Schools*. The University of North Carolina Press at Chapel Hill is the publisher. This book is an excellent statement of the historical record of segregated education. It represents a fair and above-board attempt to assess the status of dual education in the South and in some instances outside the southern region. It is a good source for an unbiased point of view on the development of dual schools.

The Fund for the Advancement of Education of the Ford Foundation supplied the money for the project which uncovered the data on which the book is based.

The historical facts become more meaningful when considered along with the psycho-sociological dynamics.

Malvin M. Tumin in *Desegregation: Resistance and Readiness*, published by Princeton University Press, has statistically determined to what extent a white man's prejudice against Negroes affects his attitudes toward desegregation. The data were secured by means of an interview with 287 white men and 28 white male civic leaders. Readiness for desegregation

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was related positively to wealth, college education, exposure to the mass media, occupation, number of children in family, religious affiliation, church attendance, urban residence and work experience, age and maturity. The author concludes:

One does not have to change the hearts of men in order to change their actions. Law, custom, moral pressure, ideological forces, all these can intervene to prevent the translation of prejudice into discrimination. The people found to be most ready for desegregation know the consequences of discrimination and are unwilling to pay the cost, regardless of their private feeling about Negroes. Those most resistant to desegregation tend to feel that they have little or no stake in the community and any improvement in the status of the Negroes is seen as a direct threat to their own already deprecated status. Between these two groups are the crucially important uncommitted majority. But these are the people most responsive to positive leadership.

The interviewers were residents of Guilford County, North Carolina. The book was published in 1958; a new edition is being prepared.

The full meaning of prejudice and how it affects the lives of the developing individual is clearly set forth in *Prejudice and Your Child* by Ken-

neth B. Clark. The material reported in this book was first presented at the Mid-Century White House Conference on children and youth. Mr. Clark has examined all available information on racial prejudice and its effects on the personality of the American child. The manuscript out of which grew *Prejudice and Your Child* served as the basis for the discussion of developing personality in American children at the Mid-Century White House Conference. In addition, most of the information reported in this volume was used as expert testimony before the Federal Courts in the segregation cases. The Supreme Court cited the original manuscript in its opinion of May 17, 1954.

Prejudice and Your Child has been revised and enlarged. The revised edition, published by Beacon Press in 1963, includes two excellent papers. One paper traces the legal history of integration in public education and the other paper defines the role of the social scientist in desegregation. For those who are interested in understanding the nature of prejudice and how it affects the lives of people, this book is essential reading. It is also a good source for specific steps to undertake in outlining an action program designed to eliminate prejudice in a community.

The effects of racial prejudice upon the general American society and the evils of racial prejudice in the developing individual are scientific-

ly stated in *Psychiatric Aspects of School Desegregation*, a monograph, authored by the Committee on Social Issues of the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry. In this monograph a number of psychiatrists examine the psychiatric aspects of racial desegregation. The subject is treated under the following headings: the psychodynamics of responses to desegregation; function of racial myths and prejudices; psychodynamics of changing attitudes; the role of authority in changing attitudes and responses of various groups to desegregation.

In March, 1960, *Psychiatric Aspects of School Desegregation* was reissued in a non-technical edition under the title: *Emotional Aspects of School Desegregation*. This revised edition includes all the information of the original edition plus some material on desegregation that has appeared since 1957. The report is written to be read by the layman. The causes and effects of racial prejudice are discussed in such a way as to prove helpful to anyone who should desire to know about the meaning and effects of prejudice. Helpful insights may be gained regardless of the attitudes and opinions in relation to race. This report will be of great assistance to all those who wish to reappraise his own thinking and feeling about racial integration in American society. It probably would prove helpful to accompany the reading of this report with the reading of *They Learn What They Live: Prejudice in*

Young Children by H. M. Troger and M. R. Yarrow which was published by Harper in 1952.

Ralph E. McGill in *The South and the Southerner* tells us in picturesque language about growing up and living in the South. He uses the means of an autobiographical sketch to present the prevailing southern attitudes about race, politics, education, economics and life in general. The book was published by Little, Brown in 1963. It provides good background reading for an understanding of desegregation as a form of social change.

The successful resolution of the many problems arising out of the desegregation process depends on the range and quality of the understanding of the citizens in the communities undertaking steps toward integrating the public schools. Failure is often attributed to faulty steps at the leadership level, distorted ideas about race, and well-thought-out schemes designed to retard or thwart integration.

The December, 1963 issue of the *National Education Journal* presents a symposium on desegregation which gives the methods used in the successful integration of the Atlanta public schools, the Nashville schools and the Dade County, Florida Teachers Associations. These cases tend to agree that success of the desegregation program depends upon: (1) the administrative or controlling boards

recognizing the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court as the law of the land, devising a plan of desegregation and putting the plan into practice in all good faith; (2) the orientation of the public in advance of actual desegregation is essential.

Wilson Record in his *Little Rock, U.S.A.* gives a detailed listing of the facts and actions taken by all groups in the Little Rock School dispute. The book is so arranged that it can be used as a study guide for those who wish to avoid making the same errors. The events are interpreted.

The Little Rock story is further analyzed by V. T. Blossom in *It Has Happened Here*, published by Knopf, in 1959. The author was the superintendent of schools at the time of the Faubus Folly. This book is a factual inside look at events leading up to the crisis.

The Washington, D.C. public school system voluntarily desegregated its schools. The success achieved has been called a man-made miracle of social adjustment. The steps of implementing the desegregation program for the city are vividly recorded by Carl F. Hansen in *The Miracle of Social Adjustment: Desegregation in the Washington, D.C. Schools*. The method used is well stated and should be consulted by those confronted with that problem of desegregation.

The question of how the local minis-

ters can aid in desegregation is answered in E. Q. Campbell and T. F. Pettigrew, *Christians in Social Crisis*.

These two authors present a careful study of Little Rock's ministry; including statements on desegregation and race relations by the leading religious denominations of the United States.

Although the data are exclusively Protestant, the total manuscript will provide helpful insights and information with which to re-appraise steps of implementation of personal plans or the plans of local school boards for the integration of schools.

The plan for integration of the schools of New York City represents an honest attempt of a community to meet the challenge of social change. According to school officials, a considerable number of teachers, administrators and a major share of the physical facilities of the school system are given over to: (1) providing educational and vocational opportunity for all children and especially those of minority racial status; (2) the encouraging and actively promoting racial integration. The plan is carefully outlined in a monograph by the New York City board of education entitled *Plan for Integration*, published in August, 1963.

The success claimed by the *Plan for Integration* is reported in a monograph issued by the board in December, 1963 under the title *Progress Toward Integration*, September 1-

November 30, 1963 and *Plans for the Immediate Future*. This report indicates specific things that were done to carry out the mandate of the Plan. The *Free Choice Transfer Plan* is in operation in New York City schools.

It was instituted by the board in the name of providing excellence in education and quality education for all.

The board in the *Progress Report* sounds a true note of moral grandeur:

Regardless of forces leading to the community conditions of segregation, discrimination, ethnic imbalance, and impaired learning potential, the school system welcomes the challenge implicit in this situation. We shall not supinely accept what exists, but shall rather help lead the struggle to change it. We have accepted in full, . . . our responsibility to approach as closely as possible and feasible one ideal of the fully integrated school.

We have also accepted fully the moral commitment to assume community leadership so far as it is necessary and practicable, in order to achieve this ideal.

The spirit of the New York Plan is embraced by John H. Fischer when he tells us in "Educational Problems of Segregation and Desegregation" that a temporary imbalance in favor of the Negro is necessary if there is to be true equality of educational opportunity. His is a worthy contribu-

tion to the volume edited by Harry A. Passow entitled *Education in Desegregated Areas* which is published by the Columbia University Press in 1963. In each instance where school boards have devised integration plans based upon the ethical principles of the essential dignity of man, the blueprint has proved highly successful.

The St. Louis Story: A Study of Desegregation by Bonita H. Vallen records an excellent example. St. Louis recognized the fundamental equality of all men and the inalienable rights of all persons to freedom and educational opportunity.

In working toward these goals, we notice an interesting fact: when, in the interest of national integrity and group welfare, we act through such collective bodies as the church, the school, trade unions and other social institutions, we tend to rise above our personal interests and prejudices and subordinate them to the larger ideals of American democracy of which our institutions are symbols and which they must serve.

This is exactly what happened in St. Louis. For over a period of several years prior to the Supreme Court decision on school desegregation, the members of St. Louis social institutions and agencies, both public and private, had consistently sought to incorporate these principles of Amer-

ican democracy into their own social planning. It was the collective planning of the people in these agencies—slow and undramatic perhaps—that was actually responsible for fostering a climate favorable to St. Louis' acceptance of the Supreme Court's desegregation decision. Of equal importance was the ability of these organizations to bring to the program their facilities and the wide range of skills of their individual members, as well as their ability to create lines of communication between persons of both races interested in sound social planning.

Herbert Wey and John Cory have presented a guidebook designed to enable school teachers, administrators and school board members to undertake a program of desegregation. The guidebook is entitled *Action Patterns in School Desegregation* and is published by Phi Delta Kappa. The publication is an excellent source for those who wish to do an honest job of desegregating the public schools. It is a report of a project carried out under the auspices of the Phi Delta Kappa Commission on the Study of Educational Policies and Programs in Relation to Desegregation. The Fund for the Advancement of Education of the Ford Foundation underwrote the cost of the project.

In the midst of the thoughtful planning to integrate at any price by some groups, Inge L. Gibel sounds a

warning in an article entitled "How Not to Integrate the Schools" in the November, 1963 issue of *Harper's Magazine*. She charges that some civil rights groups want to integrate schools without calculating the risk involved. The realities of social class should be accepted in place of race as a basis for integrating schools:

Nonetheless, I believe that in the North at least, what we think of as the race struggle has become much more a problem of class and economics than of color. Unless we recognize this, the "Negro Revolution" will fizzle out into a mere statistical adjustment.

At the top of our social and power structure, the black man will be represented in proportion to his numbers; but the majority of black people—along with the ex-miners of West Virginia, the migrant workers, and the South's own "poor white trash"—will remain at the bottom.

If this should happen, the Negro people will be bereft even of the comforting belief espoused by their current leaders that only race prejudice is holding them back.

New Rochelle, New York, turned a "deaf ear and a blind eye" to the challenge to improve its school system by making equality of educational opportunity available to all children. Because of this shortsightedness, a

Federal Court found that the New Rochelle School Board had, since 1930, gerrymandered school district lines so that Negro pupils had to attend the Lincoln School and the white students were assigned to schools outside of the Lincoln School district. This incident was the surprise of the year (1961) for New Rochelle was thought to be a progressive and well-informed community. The case and its interpretation may be found in "Segregation Litigation and the Schools—Part I: The New Rochelle Experience" by John Kaplan in the January 1963 issue of the *Northwestern University Law Review*. In addition, *Legal Trends in De Facto Segregation: The Meaning for Ohio's Public Schools* by the Ohio Civil Rights Commission presents an excellent summary of the New Rochelle Case.

De facto segregation supports the neighborhood school plan. In other words, the neighborhood school plan fits comfortably within a system of de facto segregation. So much so that some Federal Courts have ruled that the result is the same as planned segregation or segregation by the formality of a dual system of education. The courts have tended to rule against those school boards that presented plans for integration that did not embrace the idea of full integration. The Fourteenth Amendment, some argue, holds that integration is an affirmative requirement. In other

words, desegregation is affirmatively required by the constitution. The constitutional foundation of desegregation is thoroughly discussed by Albert P. Blaustein and Clarence C. Ferguson in *Desegregation and the Law: The Meaning and Effect of the School Desegregation Cases*. The first edition was published by the Rutgers University Press in 1957; the second, in 1962. Every school board member should become acquainted with the contents of this publication. New Rochelle would have been in a much better bargaining position had its school board read and accepted the interpretation outlined by these two law school professors.

J. W. Pellason introduces the reader to the forces that operate to influence the behind-the-scenes legal struggles of Federal judges in his book: *Fifty-eight Lonely Men: Southern Judges and School Desegregation*. It demonstrates how wide and deep the cultural attitudes can be. This book should be read along with the interpretation of cases presented by Blaustein and Ferguson.

The question in education is whether there has been progress which can be counted not merely in buildings and buses but in the heads of the children.

—Josephus Daniels